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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

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ALL NATO CAPITALS 3513
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SECRETUSNATO 5872

E.O. 11652: GDS, 12-31-81 TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: DECEMBER 3 NAC DISCUSSION

VIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

REF: VIENNA 9894 NOTAL

BEGIN SUMMARY: COUNCIL AGREED WITH SYG LUNS' SUGGESTION THAT EXCELLENT AD HOC GROUP PROGRESS REPORT (REFTEL) BE FORWARDED SEPARATELY TO MINISTERS UNDER A BRIEF COVER NOTE (PO) FROM LUNS. AD HOC GROUP (AHG) CHAIRMAN ROSE BRIEFED THE COUNCIL ON THE BASIS OF THE REPORT, POINTED TO DIFFICULT PROBLEMS AHEAD AND NOTED NEED FOR ALLIANCE AGREEMENT ON ASSOCIATED MEASURES. BELGIAN AND CANADIAN REPS SAID THAT ALLIANCE COULD NOT POSTPONE FOR LONG DIFFICULT DECISIONS ON WHEN AND HOW TO BEGIN SEEKING COMMON GROUND WITH SOVIETS. DUTCH PERMREP HINTED THAT SECRET

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ALLIES SHOULD STOP THINKING IN TERMS OF PRE-REDUCTION MEASURES, BUT FRG PERMREP CIRCULATED NEW GERMAN POSITION ON STABILIZING MEASURES (SEE SEPTEL) WHICH CONTINUED TO SPEAK IN TERMS OF PRE-REDUCTION CONSTRAINTS. END SUMMARY.

- 1. LUNS OPENED DISCUSSION BY NOTING EXCELLENT AHG REPORT ON MBFR DEVELOPMENTS AND SUGGESTING THAT, RATHER THAN INCLUDING THIS REPORT AS SIMPLY AN ANNEX TO COUNCIL PROGRESS REPORT TO MINISTERS (USNATO 5732), HE WOULD CIRCULATE IT SEPARATELY UNDER CONVER OF A PO. PO WOULD MENTION, INTER ALIA, THAT MINISTERIAL DECISIONS ON MBFR DO NOT SEEM REQUIRED AT THE MOMENT.
- 2. AHG CHAIRMAN ROSE (UK) BRIEFED COUNCIL ON MBFR DEVELOPMENTS, ALONG LINES REFTEL. HE WAS PLEASED THAT COUNCIL HAD APPROVED FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL IN TIME FOR TABLING ON NOVEMBER 22, AND SAID THAT FRAMEWORK PROPOSAL PROVED AN EFFECTIVE RESPONSE TO EARLIER WARSAW PACT DRAFT AGREEMENT. ROSE OBSERVED THAT WHILE WP REPS INDICATED SOME FLEXIBILITY IN THEIR POSITION IN CORRIEDOR CONVERSATIONS, THEY HAD SHOWN NO FLEXIBILITY AS YET IN FORMAL NEGOTIATIONS. HE CONCLUDED THAT SUBSTANCE OF EASTERN PROPOSALS WAS NOT UNEXPECTED, ALTHOUGH CONCRETE FORM AND TIMING OF SOVIET DRAFT CAME AS SOMEWHAT OF A SURPRISE. SOVIETS DID NOT SUCCEED, HOWEVER, IN THROWING ALLIES OFF BALANCE, AND ALLIED REPS WERE MAINTAINING THEIR COHESION.
- 3. ROSE NOTED THAT DIFFICULT PROBLEMS LIE AHEAD. AHG HAD NOT YET ATTEMPTED TO FIND PONTS OF CONVERGENCE. AND STILL NEEDED ALLIANCE AGREEMENT ON SPECIFIC "PRE-REDUCTION" STABILIZING MEASURES BY DECEMBER 11. HE REPORTED PROSPECTIVE TIMETABLE (LAST PLENARY ON DECEMBER 13, RECESS UNTIL WEEK OF JANUARY 14) AND PROPOSED THAT NEXT AHG REPORT TO COUNCIL BE ON JANUARY 25.
- 4. DE STAERCKE (BELGIUM) BELIEVED THAT MBFR NEGOTIATIONS HAD NOW COMPLETED THE FIRST "RUBBER," AND NOW HAD TO LOOK TOWARDS THE NEXT HAND. SOVIET PROPOSALS RAISED A NUMBER OF SERIOUS QUESTIONS, INCLUDING FOR EUROPEAN ALLIES, AND HE HOPED THAT ALLIES WOULD NOW BEGIN TO CONSIDER TACTICS FOR AFTER JANUARY 15. ALLIANCE NEEDED TO LOOK AT MORE THAN JUST STABILIZING MEASURES. GOVERNMENTS WOULD NEED TO REVIEW SECOND-PHASE LINKAGE QUESTION, EFFECT ON EUROPEAN FORCES, NUCLEAR ASPECTS, AIR ASPECTS, ETC. MARSHALL (CANADA) SAID THAT AD HOC GROUP COULD SECRET

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PROBABLY SPIN OUT THE NEGOTIATIONS, BUT SOVIETS MIGHT WELL EXPECT ALLIES, AS THE DEMANDEURS, TO MAKE THE FIRST MOVE.

- 5. AHG REPS (ROSE AND GRANDE (CANADA)) RESPONDED THAT IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO SAY WHAT TIMING WOULD BE FOR ALLIED MOVE TOWARDS COMPROMISE. NEGOTIATIONS ARE JUST BEGINNING, AND AHG PLAN TO STICK TO AGREED ALLIANCE POSITION, WHILE STUDYING VARIOUS FACETS. ROSE COMMENTED THAT AHG HAD ALREADY DEVELOPED ARGUMENTATION AGAINST SOVIET PROPOSALS FOR INCLUSION OF NUCLEAR AND AIR ELEMENTS, BUT HE ADMITTED THAT THE SOVIETS MIGHT NOT FIND THESE ARGUMENTS AS CONVINCING AS DID ALLIES.
- 6. DUTCH PERMREP HOPED THAT AD HOC GROUP WOULD NOT EMPHASIZE

"PRE-REDUCTION" STABILIZING MEASURES. SINCE ALLIES MGIHT WELL NOT REACH AGREEMENT IN TIME TO MAKE "PRE-REDUCTION" LABEL CREDIBLE. SPC CHAIRMAN KASTL SUMMARIZED WORK IN SPC ON STABILIZING MEASURES. IN TERMS OF TACTICS HE SUGGESTED THAT AD HOC GROUP MIGHT WISH TO ENSURE THAT THEY KEEP THE DOOR OPEN IN THEIR STATEMENTS BEFORE CHRISTMAS RECESS FOR FUTURE STABILIZING MEASURES, WHILE CONTINUING THEIR NEGOTIATIONS ON OTHER SUBJECTS. KRAPF (FRG) CIRCULATED NEW INSTRUCTIONS ON STABILIZING MEASURES, WHICH THE COUNCIL ASKED SPC TO REVIEW ON DECEMBER 4.

SECRET

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